

# Liberty and the Union.

## S P E E C H

OF

## HON. BURT VAN HORN

OF NIAGARA COUNTY.

IN ASSEMBLY—January 18, 1860.

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—I had hoped that before this time our Democratic friends would have relieved themselves from the awkward position they seem to occupy, of being obliged to agree with the Governor in the policy of his Message now under consideration. We have pressed this Message upon them upon various occasions, but with a few exceptions, it has passed untouched and always unharmed. With the gentlemen from Erie (Mr. MILLER) I congratulate the Governor most heartily upon his success in presenting a Message to the Legislature and the people, that meets with such signal approval, and that finds so few opposers. Especially do I congratulate him upon the great approbation his suggestions meet with from the Opposition on this floor, heretofore so loud in their denunciations of these same doctrines and sentiments. It is, sir, impossible in the space allowed me, to do justice to the various topics discussed by the Governor in his Message before us, and in fact his reasonings and patriotic suggestions are all so clear and commendable, that no suggestions of mine can make them clearer or give them greater force. Some few remarks by my friend from New York (Mr. GOVEX) the other day in his attempt to attack the Message call for a reply, and if while I am up I enlarge somewhat upon the principal topics discussed by the Governor, the Committee will bear with me in so doing.

As might be expected, he opens his message with a review of the financial condition of the State and especially as connected with the Canal Enlargement, or great works of internal improvement of our State. These works it must be admitted have produced all our present embarrassment. It has, as it must always, cost, a vast amount to carry forward such a magnificent scheme of improvement as the Empire State has sustained for several years past, and

especially so when such an enterprise is made the foot-ball of designing and unprincipled politicians, and when it is embarrassed to such an extent by such men, for the purpose of keeping it in existence, so that they may fatten upon their unrighteous and ill-gotten gains. It can hardly be expected however, in such an extensive work as we still have upon our hands, and have carried so many years, that any other result would be witnessed. All its operations are more or less remote from the people who are required to support it, and are the source of its life, besides, dishonesty is to be found everywhere, in official stations as well as in the humbler walks and ways of life. Since the Republican party has been in existence, its aims and its efforts in connection with these great enterprises, all candid men will admit, have been wise and beneficial. Whenever it has had opportunity, it has manfully shouldered the responsibility, irrespective of the embarrassment of the times and depressed condition of our people, and provided all the means necessary to carry forward the work of improvement in the most judicious and economical way, always having an eye to the final and speedy completion of the work, which the Governor now urges upon us as being eminently our duty. I cannot of a truth say as much as this of our Democratic friends. That party is largely in the interests of corporations that are seeking to override the people's interests as embodied in her Canals, and all its movement have a direct tendency to throw them into disgrace, and make them a burden to the people, and a reproach to all. This cannot be denied. In 1857, the Republican party took high ground in favor of our public works, and provided liberally for their successful carrying on, and against the action of a large portion of the Democratic minority of that Legislature. In the fall of 1858, this same party made use of the

bold, honest and decisive policy of the Legislature of 1857, before the people, to defeat that party, and by their piteous wail of taxation, ruination of the credit of the State, and extravagant Legislation, succeeded in getting themselves partially into power. But what did they do? In the Legislature of 1858 they did precisely nothing for our public works, at the same time they did all they ever intended while they were making fair promises before the people. The power that controlled that Legislature was against these great magnificent works, that have given our State such a position already, and that promise us in their final completion, such rich and untold benefits, as the great wealth of our land is more fully developed, and brought into the overflowing stream of commercial transaction that is destined to flood our State with a boundless prosperity. In 1859, the Republican party again came to the rescue, and provided the necessary means to carry us through the year of enlargement and labor, and now we are again ready to carry out the wise suggestions of the Governor, and lift once for all these works to their long-sought and anticipated position, and secure their immediate completion, and provide means to accomplish the same as fast as the case demands, in view of economy and advantage. The proper committees that have these important matters in hand will in due time arrange the detail of these measures, and will be, I have no doubt, acceptable to the majority of this House, and the people generally. The policy of reducing tolls upon various articles transported upon our Canals, although participated in by myself, is a wrong policy, and should be abandoned, at least to an extent. The Governor recommends a return to former policy and former rates substantially, and his suggestions in this regard commend themselves to every candid and impartial man. All will admit, that it is a very nice question to properly adjust the rates of tolls and to fix them at precisely the point on all articles that seek our thoroughfares, where they would secure the greatest revenue and not oppress our citizens. As upon all other difficult questions of commercial operation, experience must guide our actions in this. Without having time here to argue these points, we say that our business for the past two years under the reduction system, shows that the experiment has an unwise one, and ought to be abandoned.

I had the privilege, in the last House, of presenting my views at length upon the general Canal policy of the State, and I have seen no reason to alter my mind from that time, only to be strengthened in my convictions then expressed, that had our Canals not been robbed by the State of their revenues, and made to contribute their earnings to every other enterprise, and help keep up the general expenses of the governments, as they have, and all their revenues, above costs to superintend and repair them, been turned in upon themselves, to aid the grand work of their enlargement, they would not now be so greatly embarrassed and unpopular among certain classes of our people. Our only hope now rests in their speedy and entire completion to the original dimensions proposed and determined, and then, rid of the great number that live upon them and prosper in the tardiness of the work, they will rise under the healthy and vigorous

state of commercial prosperity that the future must develope. We must pass by the various topics treated by the Governor in relation to our internal affairs and arrangements, all of which are worthy of our candid consideration, and will receive their due attention when embodied in measures to meet their various demands. At the last session of the Legislature, basing the action upon that provision of the Constitution which requires "that laws shall be made for ascertaining by proper proofs, the citizens who shall be entitled to the right of suffrage," a law was passed to carry out that object commonly called the "Registry Law." It was in some respects an experiment, this State never before having had just such a law upon her statute book. In itself right as to principle, just as to its great object, for a pure ballot-box is the great bulwark of our free institutions and the safeguard of our liberties, the majority of that Legislature were willing to plant themselves upon that right and that justice, and trust the consequences with an upright people. Our Democratic friends opposed us in every step we took in favor of that measure, and to secure that high principle of order and justness; while that opposition to the form of the law, to take the mildest view of it, attaches so closely to hostility to the principle itself, that they must take the unenviable responsibility of such a hostility. It is most gratifying, however, to find that it has more than met the highest expectations of its warmest friends; and as a proof of this fact, that the people have sent up here such a strong reliable majority, almost unprecedented in the political history of our State, to confirm previous action and add new safeguards to it, and render it more effective and beneficial. The Governor says, "the great object of excluding from the ballot-box all illegal votes, has been substantially attained, so that every elector may be sure that he can exert his due influence in the choice of rulers," which, with the development of true principles, is the great object of the ballot-box. That some amendments are required cannot be doubted, and indeed the Governor suggests that such should be the case. Whether the one proposed by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ARCADE), in his notice to repeal the act so far as it is connected with the city of New York, will answer the suggestion or not, I am quite sure there will be a decided preponderance in favor of the negative. Indeed the city of New York needs the protection it proposes more than any other portion of our State. Modern democracy in that city is so rife with illegal voters, that nullify and render ineffective the votes of her honest and quiet citizens, that without some positive protection in the exercise of their rights, such as this law is intended to secure, and will secure most effectually when faithfully administered, they will not go to the polls for the purpose of voting. They prefer rather to remain away than to be awed down by a hard-fisted and red-faced bullyism that the political machinery of that city has always on hand to carry the basest of purposes, and attain the most unjustifiable ends, by the most diabolical means. This applies alike to any and all parties where such outrages exist, and this law proposes to reach every illegality, be it found in or out of the party that requires "the people to go up to Jerusalem to be registered." The only locality that attempted to embarrass

the faithful operation of this law, was the city of New York. It was a source of great mortification to the mass of the people outside of that great city, built up by the contributions to her from the great interior, that sends its vast wealth to supply and enrich her, that she should so array herself against a law and principle that are at once her only safeguard, and sanctioned by a great majority of the people in their representatives. The Democratic party, instead of gaining in that unlawful foray against a pure ballot-box, lost respect all over the State. If quiet and good order cannot prevail, if those who are now charged with the faithful execution of the laws in that city, cannot, under their solemn oaths, and under the high responsibility they owe to God and their fellowmen, administer the laws that oppress no honest man or good citizen, or legal voter, faithfully and to the best of their ability, with an honest purpose of right and justice, then I would resort to measures of a more determined character, and force their administration. If men cannot be found in that city brave and determined enough to stand by the laws, and see them faithfully and honestly executed, (which I do not doubt in the least,) then I would send them there by a species of high handed legislation, clothed with the authority of law, and place at their backs the whole power of the State, but what the laws should be faithfully administered, the dignity and the sovereignty of the State vindicated, and its high character sustained. This has been resorted to before, as claimed by the opposers of the Metropolitan Police system, and which was regarded by them as going to the extreme of all propriety and justice in legislation, but extreme cases sometimes demand extreme treatment, when common and ordinary remedies will not avail to work the cure that all good citizens are demanding.

If that Police system was apparently partial legislation, yet the case required positive treatment, and no one act designed especially for the benefit and security of her citizens, ever worked for her so much and great benefits, as has the Metropolitan Police System of 1857. The majority of this House are prepared now to devise such additional securities as will attain the great object of a legal registration in that city, and, if necessary, send them men who will execute a good registry law, with faithfulness and impartiality. Let all the people stand by a principle so holy and so just, and prove the sincerity of their love for our free institutions, which rest for their support and vitality upon a free, pure and uncontaminated ballot-box. The credit of the State, the character of our people, the self-respect of all parties demand such attachment and cooperation, and with such a combination of force, and such co-operation, the great end will be attained, and the just rights of all our people secured.

But I desire on this occasion to treat somewhat at length the great questions of public interest so boldly and manfully touched by the Governor in the closing passages of his Message. His patriotic suggestions, and his bold enunciation of the great cardinal doctrines of the Republican Party, upon which it has grown to such giant proportions, as to cast its shadow all over our land, and revive the good old days of true Democracy, are worthy of the most profound attention, and the highest commendation. These

doctrines, and the course proposed by the Governor are so strenuously opposed by the Democracy, so-called, that the majority of this House, as well as the people, have been looking to see these views and his policy attacked, and the true sentiments and true policy proposed as held and advocated by that party. Thus far we have had but a faint outline and a weak defence of that policy from the Opposition upon this floor, and must avail ourselves of the opportunity of gathering their opinions from the leading oracles of that party and its general conduct. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GOVER) charges the Republican Party as being the most abolition in its character of any party in the country, and as evidence, refers to the opinions and course of Phillips, Garrison and Smith, whom he very ingeniously and cunningly endeavors to associate with that party, in order to sustain and strengthen his position. He ought to know, as well as every Republican, that such men have no fellowship with the Republican Party, that that party is not responsible for their unjustifiable positions or conclusions, any more than they are responsible for the still less acceptable views and course of the Democratic Party, upon this great question of human rights. Indeed, it is quite difficult for a close observer to ascertain which they hate the worse, the Republican Party or the Union, or which they love the more, the dissolution of the Union or the Democratic Party, which they believe is to be used, if ever accomplished, as the means of such a dreadful *finale*. The Governor declares no such doctrines as the gentleman from New York would attribute to the Republican Party—and the party itself has never laid down any such doctrine, neither has its leaders authorized by their long service and devotion to its principles, ever uttered or carried out such opinions or doctrines. Ex-Governor Seymour, in his self-sacrificing effort to save what is not lost—the Union—in his speech in this Capitol a short time since, took virtually the same ground. His whole effort was to show that the people of the North, and especially of the Empire State, had, by a neglect of their own business, and by meddling in the affairs of their Southern neighbors not only brought themselves into an unjustifiable state of embarrassment financially, but were responsible for all the state of disorder, disunion and strife that has arisen in our land. This was at least an implied charge of abolitionism upon the people, or a portion of the people, of this State.

Mr. GOVER: I would like to ask the gentleman from Niagara, whether he understood Gov. Seymour to say that the Democrats of the North were responsible for the agitation existing in the country?

Mr. VAN HORN: I will reply to the gentleman to his satisfaction presently; most certainly he did not wish to be so understood. I will say here, however, that the Governor made no allusion to parties as such, but the charge was against the North, and much was implied in that charge.

With the Pro-Slavery proclivities, and the willing subserviency of the Democratic party to the South, and the great emulation existing in that party to see which division or faction can get the lowest in the dust before their master, to gain his favor and catch his smile, certainly with this state of their case, he had no reference to his party, and of course means the Re-

publican party. Now, in what consists the justness of this charge. Does the Governor in his Message propose any abolition means? Has the Republican party ever declared in its platform, National or State, any such doctrine? Has any of the noble men who have carried its glorious banner into the severest charge of the conflict, and planted it on the very outer wall of the citadel of opposition, ever promulgated such a doctrine? Where, when and by whom was such a sentiment advanced or any action comporting with the doctrine of abolitionism as commonly understood, and used by the gentleman from New York, and the Ex-Governor, sustained by the Republican party since its organization? Not an instance can be found, and if the gentleman from New York or any of the Opposition upon this floor, can point to a single exception to this statement, let him now do it, and refute my position. The charge will recoil upon the heads of those making it with a force that will drive them into a shameful disgrace.

Mr. GOVER: Does the gentleman hold that Congress has the right to legislate Slavery into the State of New York?

Mr. VAN HORN: The gentleman from New York is getting over-anxious, and along too fast. If he will only be patient I will show what I believe to be the power and duty of Congress over this subject.

The Republican party has always maintained the rights and independence of the States, against all unlawful interference from any source, and will protect every State, in their just rights, as under the Constitution those rights were intended to be understood and interpreted by those who framed it. But while it declares its readiness to do this, it will demand and have under this same Constitution every iota that belongs to Freedom, and will go to the very verge of the power granted to secure the great objects of all free government, the inalienable rights and liberty of all men. The loyalty of the Empire State as such, to the laws and the Constitution, has ever been the noblest trait of her exalted character, and she will not surrender her regard for her self-respect and high character, by yielding to take less than she is entitled to, under the compact that binds her to the great sisterhood of States. As the Governor substantially says, which but reiterates the unalterable position of the Republican party, no Territory that is free, can ever have the sanction of the free people of the Empire State to become degraded to the condition of Slavery. This doctrine is the foundation stone of the Republican party, upon it the great superstructure has arisen to magnificent proportions, and cast its blessings all over our land. It this be abolition doctrine then Jefferson was an abolitionist; and Madison and Henry and Franklin and the great worthies of olden time who gave life and character to our infant republic and institutions, were abolitionists. The Republican party has not only the good of all lands to bid it "God speed" in its high career of truth, but its position and its doctrines upon the great question of human rights, are more than sustained in the opinions, doctrines and examples of all the great patriots and heroes of our early history, whose honored names will hang upon the lips of all future gen-

erations, and whose sacred memory will be enshrined in the grateful recollections of a race they have contributed to elevate and bless.

It may not be amiss to refer briefly to the views of the early Fathers of our Republic, to see who are legitimately in the succession, and which party are endeavoring to perpetuate the noble sentiments that they embraced, and to try our several positions and opinions by this inflexible standard. Our space is so necessarily limited that we shall be compelled to be brief in our quotations, but will go sufficiently far to develop their true sentiments and unalterable purposes, in connection with this vexed question of human Slavery in all its ramifications and bearings. The Father of his Country, our noble Washington, who gave a life to the service of his country he loved, and whose broad philanthropy took in all classes of men, not excepting the depressed race of slaves that were then his companions and associates, felt the inconsistency of his course and the position of his country as connected with this great curse, existing then, however, in a mild form compared with its present aggravated character. He says, in 1786:—

I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my *first wishes* to see some plan adopted by which slavery, in this country, may be abolished by law.

And again:—

I can only say, that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting.

And again:—

There are in Pennsylvania laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Virginia nor Maryland have at present, but which nothing is more certain than they must have, and at a period not remote.

To carry out the great principles of his life in this regard, he provided in his will for the emancipation of all his slaves after the decease of his wife, but she with the true heart of a patriot woman, knowing the desire of her honored husband, released her right of dower on learning of the provisions of the will, and all the slaves were made free long before they otherwise would have been. With this statement of his opinions, does any one suppose he panted as slaveholders now do, for the extension of this degrading system, that curses our people and our land, tenfold more now, than then? Does any one suppose, had he been handed down to us of this generation, he would have clung to the system in the States where it then existed as slaveholders now cling to its rottenness? No one will desecrate his sacred memory, so much as to harbor the unhallowed thought for a moment. But what says the great founder of Democracy, the immortal Jefferson, upon this subject? Finding him as we always do, breathing the atmosphere of the purest realm, and uttering the sentiments that spring only from a heart that caught its inspiration from a "higher law," and a higher life, we may expect that his record also will be as noble, as his life was sincere. In a convention held in 1774 in Virginia, to send delegates to the first general Congress, he said:—

The abolition of domestic Slavery is the greatest object of desire in these Colonies.

And again, in 1785, he says:—

Northward of the Chesapeake you may find, here and here, an opponent of your doctrines, as you may find, here and there, a robber and murderer; but in no great number. Emancipation is put into such a train, that in a few years there will be no slaves northward of Maryland. In Maryland I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this enormity, as in Virginia. This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression; a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits from the influx into office of young men grown up, and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of the question.

And again:—

What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toll, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty; and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose.

And again:—

We must wait with patience the workings of an over-ruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress. Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate, than that this people shall be free.

And again, as late as 1825, he says:—

My sentiments have been forty years before the public. Had I repeated them forty times, they would have only become the more stale and threadbare. Although I shall not live to see them consummated, they will not die with me.

Will any man pretend, after this exhibit of Jeffersonian Democracy, that the Democratic party of 1860 is fit to be the vessel to bear his sentiments and views down to the future? Indeed, he was far in advance of any of the positions assumed by the Republican party of the present day, with all their radicalism. The Republican party has never yet classed our neighbors of the South with the robber and murderer, as he did, although the whole world knows that they are seeking to extend and diffuse a robbing and murderous system over all our land, and thus multiply the subjects of such a high-handed villainy. Who wonders, then, that Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence—that he held that all men were “created equal”—that they were endowed with rights inalienable, above and beyond the piratical hand of man to destroy, and too sacred to be perverted for the basest designs that can demonize a man? While no one can doubt that he was devoted to the great cause of emancipation, and desired its results through the legitimate means to be employed, who can question for one moment, with these views, his utter hostility to the further extension of Slavery, and his firm belief in the power and duty of Congress to prohibit such extension, under the express stipulations of the Constitution? Indeed, the action of the Government, under his influence, more than any other, was most directly in this line of policy, during all its early history. But Jefferson was not the only hero that Freedom had in olden time. He was but the exponent of the general sentiment that every where prevailed North and South on the question of domestic Slavery; he imbibed the spirit of the people, and he reflected their sentiments and embodied their opinions. Along side of him stood Madison, Franklin, Randolph, Pinckney,

Henry, and all the great host of Southern, as well as Northern politicians, hand in hand, and with united hearts, against one common evil, looked upon by all as the greatest inconsistency in American character, but which was expected to pass rapidly away from the States where it existed, and never extend itself beyond its then limits. The Republican party then can pride itself upon being based upon positions as old as our government itself, as honored as the men that sustained them, and as sublime as their own immortal sentiments. But not only do the sentiments held by the early fathers sustain the position held by the Governor and the Republican party; but those opinions were embodied in the action of the government during all its early history. As early as 1784, a bill was proposed by Jefferson and his associates on the committee to draft one for the temporary government of the territory ceded to the General Government by Virginia, which, after providing for the admission of new States, expressly provided that neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude should be tolerated in such States or territory after the year 1808. This, at that time, received two votes for it, to one against it; but not meeting the requirements of the articles of confederation, it did not pass. This same principle was acknowledged three years afterwards in the adoption of the celebrated ordinance commonly called the Jeffersonian ordinance of 1787. Here was direct and absolute action of the government in prohibiting the extension of Slavery into free territory. In 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was adopted, it was again expressly prohibited from all the free territory north of that line. If prohibition is right under the action of a compromise, it is right in itself outside of other considerations; and if the power is found in the Constitution in one case, it is there always and inseparably connected with it. In 1845, when a territorial government was granted to Texas, it provided that all that part of it north of 36 degrees 30 minutes should be forever free from Slavery. Here the power was again recognised.

Again, in 1848, the same principle or act was applied to Oregon. In 1850, after a stormy discussion, growing out of another effort to compromise Freedom away for Slavery, California was admitted with a Constitution prohibiting Slavery; and all these cases were the positive acts of Congress, prohibiting the extension of Slavery by absolute law. Thus far we have shown most conclusively, we think, that not only those who framed the government and initiated our institutions, embraced all the doctrines that the Republican party advocates, but that the action of the government itself was directly in the channel it is proposed by that party, that our present and future action shall run. The action of the present is a great departure from what it used to be, when men were honest and acted with an honest purpose; and the Republican party reiterates its determined object and design to bring back the government to its former high and exalted position in this regard.

Who will do this work if not the Republican party? The Democratic party is so woefully enveloped with a complete subservency to Southern dictation and purpose, that that party cannot do it, for it has lost all control of its own former independence, and is illy prepared to

control for the best good of the people. We lay down the fact as undeniable, that there is no hope for Freedom with the Democratic party as it is now controlled and governed. It has, and is still, retrograding from the truth and the old land-marks; and, in fact, it has so far abandoned them as to no longer know where it is drifting. Let us examine its course briefly in its connection with the great topics of public concern, that are creating those fires beneath it that will soon burn out the last vitality it has remaining. Taking up the history of the government and parties at the point where we left off in 1850, we find there was comparatively a calm, politically, until 1854. In 1852, however, the Democratic party pronounced in National Convention, at Baltimore, its dreadful anathemas in advance, against any set of men or party, in or out of Congress, that should lay violent hands upon the peace of the Union, or agitate this question of Slavery. But what do we find only two years afterwards? This same party, under the dictation of its Southern leaders, opened up upon the country an agitation, whose heaving surges came well nigh upheaving the very foundations of the Union, and have produced all the disorder and disunion that have since prevailed. The pillars that supported the magnificent arch were shaken to their very base, and only for the cool deliberation and Union-saving sentiments of Northern patriots, they would have fallen upon the perpetrators of that unholy scheme, and ground them to ashes. The repeal of the Compromise of 1820, at this time, was the first grand step in the downward march of modern Democracy. The old patriarchs of the past never for a moment thought of disturbing that sacred compact, but it was reserved for the selfish, avaricious leaders of modern Democracy, who had abandoned the old doctrines, after the fathers had fallen asleep, to strike the fatal blow. At this time a new revelation was made, and new doctrines espoused. It was then discovered that the whole course of the government in its action upon the Territories, under the direct supervision of those who framed the Constitution, and who knew its purport, was wrong and not to be longer tolerated. Hereafter the people were to control their own domestic questions without any interference from Congress, whose power in fact was completely denied for the future. With this motto upon their banner, they went successfully through a Presidential campaign, and again pledged themselves in their platform and in their President, to the sacred carrying out of those doctrines. How well they performed their pledges is too well known to all to require an extended notice here. The history of crime, of bloodshed, of treachery to principle, and wanton departure from all political integrity, connected with the affairs of the free people of Kansas, is a record that will pass modern Democracy down to the generations of the future, as a loathsome and rotten excrescence upon the body politic. Instead of fostering the free sentiment of the people, and aiding in the construction of free institutions among a people desiring them, the National Administration has given its power and influence, under Southern dictation, to a total suppression of the rising sentiment of Freedom, and bestowed its patronage to secure this very end.

Its whole course in this direction has been

in direct opposition to its pledges before the people, and subversion of the great principles practiced by its worthy predecessors, as we have shown above. But as every new step in crime adds fresh courage to the man to renew his course of villany, so every additional step taken by the Democratic party to court southern favor at a total loss of self respect, and at a sacrifice of every principle, but drives them onward with an increased madness to greater feats of degrading subservency and political debauch. Even now, Nebraska has adopted a Constitution prohibiting Slavery within its limits, that right having been granted to her in the "Kansas Nebraska Act," and in fact this right of the people to determine for themselves was the soul and substance of that act. But a Democratic Governor, a creature of Mr. Buchanan, has vetoed it as unconstitutional and against of course, the principle of the Democratic party. The President now boldly asserts that neither the people of the Territory, Congress, or any other power can so act, for the Democratic Supreme Court has decided, that the Constitution of the United States protects Slavery in the Territories, that the right to property is higher and above every other consideration or right, and the people of a Territory has no right to prohibit Slavery therein, because it will interfere with such right. What a gross humbug then is Democratic popular sovereignty. Did any party ever present such a mortifying spectacle to a world, as this party in its duplicity and subterfuges to hoodwink the people? What the next step in their retrograde movement will be, no acuteness can determine beforehand. It may be one thing and it may be another, at all events we shall be prepared for anything. A Slave code for the Territories no less barbarous or inhuman than now exists in the Slave States is already demanded by a portion of that party, some north as well as nearly the whole body of the Democracy South, and the revival of the Slave trade may also be expected in due time.

In fact, a resolution has already been presented in the United States Senate by a leading Democrat of the country and a candidate for the nomination at Charleston at the approaching National Convention, instructing the Committee on Territories to report a bill for the absolute protection of Slavery in the Territories, and requiring, in case such protection is denied, that Congress shall, by positive act, apply the remedy, and do the same work.

It cannot be expected that Northern members of Congress will openly and at once embrace such a monstrous doctrine, but they are inevitably approaching that point, and if they desire to act in harmony with their Southern co-laborers, and sustain the action of the Charleston Convention, as the majority of them do, and will, they must ostensibly stand upon that position until they gather strength sufficient to openly avow it.

I ask again, what has become of Popular Sovereignty? Where are its advocates, and why are they so soon silent? Where are the pledges of the Cincinnati Platform, and where the solemn vows of Mr. Buchanan, that he made on the steps of the Capitol before God and the country, as he declared in his inaugural address, that those principles should be carried out, and the Territories protected in their rights, and have a

free expression of their will! They are swallowed up in the one common desire of the Slaveocracy of the country, to perpetuate their favorite institutions, even at a sacrifice of liberty and union. Surely we are prepared for any demand from the Slave Power of the country, but to be charged with agitation and insurrection when we stand in opposition only to those unholy purposes and wicked designs, with a determination only to defeat the great principles and purposes of our Government, as against these designs, is unjust, and demands and will receive its just rebuke from the people.

A resolution was introduced in the last Congress sustaining the laws against the Slave trade, and all the opposition it received was from the Democratic party. As that party virtually carries out the sentiment and by its connections and past course is committed to it, so must it openly take ground in favor of the doctrine of the recent letter of Mr. O'Connor, a leading Democrat of the North and first among the ranks of National Democrats, besides one of the candidates of the South for the Presidency. He declares most decidedly that Slavery in itself is right, and that the Democratic party must come to that open avowal, and thus act with consistency and not with duplicity.

This must be their position. The South stands upon this doctrine, and Northern Democracy has helped to sustain that position, and it must take it itself. Who then are the disorganizers, the disunionists and the disturbers of the public peace? Who are subverting the principles of our government, upon which we have grown to be a powerful people, and by the preservation of which alone our Union can be saved and made secure? Well may modern democracy, whole and half breeds, get up great meetings to save the Union, for they are the only class of men disloyal to it. "Those who affiliate with traitors are the ones to purge themselves from treason." All the cries of disunion emanate from those opposed to the Republican party. Upon the slightest possible pretext the threat is raised until it has come to be an idle tale. The national Congress is at this moment the scene of a most unfortunate struggle. On the one side are arrayed the bitter slavery propagandists and disunionists of the South, and their abettors and co-laborers of the North; and on the other side are the true men who plant themselves upon the Constitution and the great principles of human liberty and truth. The one side seeks by every laudable and just means to preserve the quiet and peace of the Union by the preservation of its foundation principles; while the other resolve to attain their end at all risk and at any sacrifice.

In this struggle the Democracy have already declared that it would not only be a sufficient cause for a secession from the Union on the part of the South if a Republican President should be elected in 1860, but if a Republican Speaker should be elected to preside over the present Congress, the obligation would be the same. Whenever did any Republican utter such doctrines? Well may the Democratic party hold Union meetings, for they are as barren of Union sentiments as they can possibly be, and need all the enthusiasm that logic and eloquence can control to awake them to their duty.

Our own illustrious Senator declared in the coolness of deliberative discussion, that there

was an "irrepressible conflict" between liberty and despotism, and either one or the other must triumph. Although this has come to be a wonderful saying, and will link his name with immortality, it was only the candid statement of the case that now exists, brought on by the misrule and high-handed acts of the present and the last Democratic Administrations. Time, with a pen of iron, has made the record upon the history of passing events, and no obliterating processes of change can efface it. It will rise up in the future as an unwelcome specter before those who inherit the views and follow in the footsteps of those, who now pronounce such doctrines and propose such action. This conflict will continue, for such opposing, antagonistic elements can never rest together in peace. The very heart of Slavery is "desperately wicked, and that continually," and will, like the troubled sea, be throwing up "mire and dirt." Its life exists in its outreachings to uproot liberty and dethrone humanity and debase the intellect, and under the wonderful advance of the nineteenth century, a collision and a dreadful encounter must be inevitable. In this conflict the good of all classes will sympathise and eventually unite with the hosts of Freedom in defence of truth and the sublime principles upon which our free institutions rest, while Slavery propagandists and apologists of every name and character will, through a thousand considerations of selfishness and false political economy, array themselves, or be arrayed, by the inevitable laws of identity and affiliation, with the cause of oppression and human bondage.

This state of things is fast being realized. A Senator in the other branch of this Legislature (Mr. LAWRENCE) has just announced substantially what is undoubtedly true, that there is no appreciable difference between the different factions or divisions of the Democratic party, in the great principles upon which they all act—that in 1860 they will work together to meet a common enemy and secure a common triumph. He proceeds to advocate the exploded humbug of Popular Sovereignty, now denounced by Mr. Buchanan, the whole South and the Supreme Court of the United States itself as impracticable and unconstitutional, and with that doctrine hopes again to cheat and hoodwink the people. This being his doctrine still, and there being in his opinion no difference in sentiment in the Democracy (all the differences existing being only in the detail as to carrying out the same principles) we conclude that a slave code for the Territories, advocated by Southern Democrats, and Popular Sovereignty again revived by Northern Democrats as he (Mr. LAWRENCE) understands it, is one and the same, appearing only in different phases, to suit the climate and locality. But one step more, and the Senator is with his file leader (Mr. O'Connor), which step is only to openly avow what he most certainly proposes to practice.

He denounces the Governor as an endorser of "Helper," and seems to disclaim the fact that the Empire State is on the side of freedom or republican liberty, from the fact that the Governor is a minority and not a majority Governor. In this respect the Governor can claim even more position than even Mr. Buchanan himself, for he is not so much a minority Governor as the President is a minority President. The Empire

State is proud of the high tone of the Message upon the great questions of interest before the people, and on every occasion will utter her most determined protest against every onslaught upon liberty and free principles by modern Democracy, which the honorable Senator (Mr. LAWRENCE) represents. As to the Book in question it ought to be generally read and its truths and suggestions well pondered. As almost every other book, it may contain some sentences that an enlightened and unprejudiced mind would not adopt, but in the main it is worthy of the most faithful commendation. It brings down to us the sacred relics of a better and a purer age—an age of *heartfelt* sentiment, and not the selfish and corrupt speculations of a *heady* people. It is, in the main, a perfect transcript of the opinions, sentiments and active life of the heroes of all the past of our country who have left, as found in this faithful record, their scathing rebuke of the present degeneracy of modern Democracy, and their evidence of attachment to the principles and doctrines that form the frame work of the present party of Freedom. In the name of these great doctrines, and in behalf of the author of this book, I thank the honorable Senator for his valuable advertisement. He is unwilling that his co-laborers in Congress shall appropriate to themselves all the glory of the universal success attending its circulation, but claims his share in the great sum total of Democratic instrumentality. But what is more surprising than all is, that the Quaker Senator should rank himself with the advocates of the measures and policy of a party which openly casts aside all the ennobling doctrines of liberty, and instead of cultivating the spirit of *peace* by advocating the "things that make peace," affiliates with the most ultra men and principles that agitate the country. The "spirit moved" and the Senator spake, but it was an evil spirit, and the Senator spake things that are evil. But what shall we say of the Union, and its perpetuity?

We have said that no threats of disunion spring from the North from any responsible party or man or set of men, no principles are sought too be embodied into action that are revolutionary, as the fathers of the Republic understood them, and no course of conduct is sanctioned in the North that is distracting, only as Northern Democracy sustains and co-operates politically with the South in their course of disunion. The great heart of the people North is loyal to the whole country, and the union of the States. The Republican party especially is based as we have already discovered upon the only principles that can save the Union, and preserve it, for they demand that the Government shall be administered upon the principles that were the source of and continuation of its life. It asks nothing more and will take nothing less. Has Liberty become less glorious and beneficial, than of olden time, and has Slavery become more lovely and a greater necessity, that we should depart from the one and cleave to the latter? The shades of a heroic ancestry, and the sacred memories of the illustrious dead; the blood of a noble race that lived in a day of trial, but that reared by their valor the sublime monuments that now everywhere, and on every hand

surround us, all call upon us to defend these monuments to the liberty they established. Freedom, 'tis true, weeps over the distraction that exists among us, and sighs over the desecration of her sacred temple by the fiendish tread of the foot of oppression and the poisonous breath of hatred therein; but her hope, resting in the sublime purposes of her early establishment, and her eye fixed upon a higher life, calls upon every true friend of his race to be satisfied only in the full and faithful execution of those purposes. The Union shall not be dissolved! It has cost too much, and is too valuable to be rent in twain; besides, it is fraught with too great and many blessings to perish. In its madness, a State or States may secede, or endeavor to do so, but they will leave the Union still, which shall stand, for it is cemented together by blood. It shall remain to perpetuate to future generations the holy memories that now cluster about it, and develop into a more complete life the noble sentiments and principles that form the basis of its hope. For this purpose alone should the desire of the human heart be lifted up to the Author of all our blessings.

To struggle for the Union for any other purpose, would be base ingratitude for the elevation we now enjoy, and beneath the dignity and energy of a free people. To sacrifice any of the vital elements that entered into the original formation, by the combination and assimilation of which we occupy the sublime position we do in the scale of being, would be a disgrace to the noble past, and a sure forfeiture of every hope for the future. Better let the Union perish, than struggle for its preservation merely to be the channel through which the whole course of our government upon vital principles shall be changed and liberty destroyed. Better scatter its mutilated fragments to the four winds of heaven, than to preserve it merely to perpetuate human bondage. Better that disunion with its desolation, sweep over our broad land and obliterate every vestige of our present proud nationality, than that its massive pillars and its towering dome be preserved as monuments to our folly, and the indexes to point to the degradation and shame of our future. Better that the rich overflowing fountains of our physical, intellectual and moral life, that now send out their swelling streams to bless all our land and elevate the race, be dried up forever, than that those fountains be changed to the filthy sources of corruption and death, and those streams spread in their sweeping currents, the blighting, corrupting and poisonous waters of the most degrading despotism that ever cursed the earth. But all this shall not be. The Union shall stand, but it shall stand only upon the immutable principles conceived of old, underlying its massive foundations, and now the soul, the life, and the energy of the party of freedom in our land. Upon its banner they are inscribed in letters of living light, and the vast hosts who march to victory under its folds, will cling to the Union with an undying and unyielding grasp. In this way are seen the footprints of greatness and goodness, and pressing these principles to our hearts, as the only salvation of the Union, we will demand in the name of God and humanity, their fullness of development, and as a consequence, its perpetuity.